

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 USUN N 01616 01 OF 02 232343Z  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 AF-10 DHA-02 /082 W  
-----240007Z 013654 /73  
O R 232300Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3711

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1616

PASS: AMBASSADOR YOUNG, TOM OFFENBURGER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING IS MAY 23 MEDIA REACTION REPORT ON  
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S AFRICAN TRIP. END SUMMARY.

2. ONE ASPECT OF EXTENSIVE MEDIA COVERAGE OF YOUNG'S  
SOUTH AFRICAN TRIP WAS TO NOTE THE CHANGE IN TONE WITH THE  
MEDIA ON SUNDAY REPORTING THE LOW-KEY APPROACH, THE "ALMOST  
ANTI-CLIMATIC" ARRIVAL AT THE AIRPORT AFTER THE  
ANXIOUS BUILD-UP TO THE CONTROVERSIAL VISIT, TO THE  
MONDAY PAPERS REPORTING THE JOURNEY BECAME AN EMOTIONAL EX-  
PERIENCE FOR YOUNG AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS; WPOST'S HEAD  
IS: "YOUNG OPENS HEART TO SOUTH AFRICANS."

3. ROBIN WRIGHT (IN MAY 23 WPOST) REPORTS YOUNG SHED HIS  
LOW-KEY APPROACH, INTENDED TO "AVOID NEW CONTROVERSIES"  
THAT WOULD FURTHER STRAIN U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS  
AND "OPENED HIS HEART: TALKING TOUGH TO LIBERAL WHITE STUDENTS  
...; RAPPING WITH BLACKS ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTH  
...; WARNING EDITORS THAT SOUTH AFRICAN 'MET THEIR MATCH'  
IN JIMMY CARTER...; AND FINALLY, IN A GESTURE THAT TYPI-  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 USUN N 01616 01 OF 02 232343Z

FIED THE INTENSE FEELINGS OF THE DAY, SINGING THE AFRICAN  
NATIONALIST ANTHEM WITH ZULU TRIBAL CHIEF GATSHA  
BUTHELEZI." WRIGHT SAYS: "THE IMPACT WAS OBVIOUS:  
BLACKS MOBBED YOUNG AS HE LEFT A U.S.-SPONSORED MEETING  
WITH MEMBERS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NONWHITE GROUPS."  
JOHN BURNS (MAY 23 NYTIMES) REPORTS THAT ON SUNDAY, WITH  
THE YOUNG VISIT WIDELY REPORTED, ESPECIALLY IN THE

BLACK NEWSPAPER "THE WORLD," WHICH SAID YOUNG "HAD THE 'CHARISMA' OF A HOLLYWOOD IDOL," SCORES OF BLACKS GATHERED IN THE STREET NEAR YOUNG'S HOTEL IN "HOPE OF SEEING HIM," AND THE SECURITY MEN "HAD TO FORM A WEDGE" TO GET YOUNG "THROUGH THE FRANTIC CROWD." THE MOST "EMOTIONAL MOMENT" CAME WHEN YOUNG EMBRACED BUTHELEZI, WHO FOLLOWED "THE EMBRACE BY CLENCHING HIS FIST AND SHOUTING 'AMDNLA,' MEANING POWER." THE MOOD, AND YOUNG'S RESPONSE TO IT, "WAS SHARPLY DIFFERENT FROM YESTERDAY," WHEN YOUNG "APPEARED TO TAKE PAINS," DURING HIS DINNER SPEECH BEFORE A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AUDIENCE, "TO AVOID SAYING ANYTHING THAT COULD PROVOKE THE GOVERNMENT'S IRE."

4. MEDIA COVERAGE ALSO STRESSED THE YOUNG THEME THAT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA COULD BE EFFECTED THROUGH ECONOMIC AND DIPLO-MATIC PRESSURE, INSTEAD OF VIOLENCE, ALTHOUGH MOST ALSO QUOTED YOUNG AS SAYING: 'IT WOULD BE QUITE HYPOCRITICAL IF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAD TO TAKE UP ARMS TO GET ITS FREEDOM FROM BRITAIN, WAS TO GO AROUND ADVISING PEOPLE AGAINST IT.'

5. SCHMEMANN (AP) REPORTING ON YOUNG'S MEETING WITH ZAMBIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS SAYS THAT "HIS ENTRANCE DREW CHEERS AND HIS OPENING LINE BROUGHT EVEN LOUDER ONES. BUT THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED, MARXIST-ORIENTED STUDENTS WERE SOON SHOUTING COMMENTS, GROANING AND JEERING SOME OF YOUNG'S REMARKS." ABC TV ALSO REPORTED THAT YOUNG'S PROPOSAL FOR A BOYCOTT BY BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS JEERED BY ZAM-BIAN STUDENTS. THESE TWO ACCOUNTS ONLY COVERAGE THAT HAS UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 USUN N 01616 01 OF 02 232343Z

APPEARED THUS FAR ON ZAMBIA VISIT.

6. ANALYZING MONDALE AND YOUNG MISSIONS, GEOFFREY GODSELL (CSMONITOR) WRITES, AFTER A WEEK OF "VIGOROUS DIPLOMACY," THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S "NEW ACTIVIST POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA NOW HAS TO PROVE ITS CREDIBILITY." HE SUGGESTS A NUMBER OF COURSES THE U.S. CAN TAKE INCLUDING: WITHHOLDING THE U.S. VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL; ENDING OF SHARING OF INTELLIGENCE; WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. MILITARY ATTACHES FROM SOUTH AFRICA; PUTTING RESTRICTIONS ON U.S. INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA; AND INTRODUCING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN VISITORS TO U.S. DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES SUCH AS THE SOUTH AFRICANS APPLY TO U.S. CITIZENS WANTING TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA.

7. WPOST IN "A MIXED-UP AFRICA POLICY" EDITORIAL SAYS THAT IN THE DIVISION OF LABOR ON AFRICA, MONDALE "HAS BEEN WORKING THE WHITE SIDE OF THE STREET" AND YOUNG "THE BLACK SIDE." CARTER, MONDALE, YOUNG "SEEM TO THINK THAT APARTHEID IS EXPENDABLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS SEGREGATION WAS IN THE

AMERICAN SOUTH," BUT SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES LOOK UPON "SE-  
PARATE DEVELOPMENT" AS THE "ONLY BASIS ON WHICH  
A WHITE MINORITY CAN BE SUSTAINED."  
IN MAPUTO, ACCORDING TO THE POST, BLACK AFRICANS WERE  
"SKEPTICAL" OF YOUNG'S ASSUMPTION THAT "NONVIOLENT TACTICS  
USED IN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE CAN OVERCOME APARTHEID."  
CARTER, THE POST SAYS, IS PROCEEDING ON A "MISTAKEN VIEW OF  
THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ROLE  
OPEN TO THE UNITED STATES THERE." IT IS AT LEAST "AS LIKELY"  
THAT AMERICAN PRESSURE "WILL SIMPLY INTENSIFY" THE  
RACIAL STRUGGLE "WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING CONSTRUCTIVELY  
TO ITS SETTLEMENT." EDITORIAL CONCLUDES: "IN OPENLY  
ATTACKING APARTHEID, AMERICAN POLICY IS BEING PLACED AT THE  
SERVICE OF AMERICAN VALUES. BUT WHERE IS IT TAKING THE PEOPLE  
IT IS SUPPOSED TO BENEFIT, AND WHERE IS IT TAKING THE UNITED  
STATES? MR. CARTER HAS YET TO SAY."

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 USUN N 01616 02 OF 02 232351Z  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-15 DHA-02 /082 W  
-----240006Z 013782 /73

O R 232300Z MAY 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3712

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1616

PASS: AMBASSADOR YOUNG, TOM OFFENBURGER

8. BSUN EDITORIAL COMPLIMENTS THE BLENDING OF MONDALE'S  
"MILITANCY" IN ATTACKING SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SYSTEM AND  
YOUNG'S "MODERATION" AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE IN "RESISTING  
DEMANDS...FOR COERCIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE WHITE MAJORITY  
REGIMES" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. RECOGNIZING THE CAPACITY OF  
SOUTH AFRICA "TO COMPLICATE OR EASE TENSIONS" IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA, SUN SAYS IT "MAKES SENSE" FOR THE U.S. "TO  
SEEK PRETORIA'S COOPERATION" IN RHODESIAN AND  
NAMIBIA AS LONG AS THE WORLD UNDERSTANDS THE U.S. "WILL  
SEEK THE LONGER-RANGE GOAL OF ENDING THE RACIAL INJUSTICE  
THAT BLIGHTS SOUTH AFRICA."

9. COLUMNIST CARL ROWAN CONGRATULATES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FOR HAVING DEVELOPED AT LAST A POLICY ON AFRICA THAT SAYS THE U.S. "MUST TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN AFRICA, AND THAT HERE MOST OF ALL WE MUST MANIFEST OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS."

10. C.L. SULZBERGER (NYTIMES) NOTES THE AREA OF AGREEMENT IN THE MONDALE/VORSTER TALKS, AS WELL AS THE TOTALLY OPPOSITE POSITIONS REGARDING APARTHEID AND COMMENTS THAT "IT WILL REQUIRE BOTH PER-  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 USUN N 01616 02 OF 02 232351Z

SISTENCE AND PATIENCE TO PURSUE THE DIALOGUE NOW STARTED." SULZBERGER, HOWEVER, WARNS THAT THE U.S., "WHILE PRESSING ITS NEW HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY REMORSELESSLY, MUST NOT BE OVER-HASTY IN EXPECTING RESULTS" BECAUSE THERE IS ALWAYS THE DANGER THAT ANGRY SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES MIGHT RETREAT INTO A "FORTRESS OF FEAR."

11. NEWSWEEK WRITES THAT YOUNG WORKED THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE "WITH THE PRACTICED INFORMALITY OF A SOUTHERN POLITICIAN." THE DELEGATES "RESPONDED WARMLY" TO HIS OPEN MANNER AND HIS "STRONG SUPPORT" FOR MAJORITY RULE, AND YOUNG WAS "ABLE TO BUILD BRIDGES" TO BLACK GOVERNMENTS THAT "HAVE HAD FEW IF ANY, OFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH WASHINGTON," BUT MANY BLACKS WONDERED WHETHER "HIS RHETORIC REALLY WOULD DO THEM ANY GOOD." NEWSWEEK CONCLUDES: "THERE WAS LITTLE DOUBT THAT YOUNG'S RHETORIC WAS LARGELY DIRECTED TO AN AMERICAN AUDIENCE... IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT, ALTHOUGH HE MAY APPEAR AT TIMES TO SHOOT FROM THE HIP, EVERYTHING HE SAYS HAS BEEN THOUGHT OUT TO SPUR DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY AT HOME."

12. MEDIA REPORTING ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE CONCENTRATED ON THE UNSUCCESSFUL LAST-MINUTE ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, AND REPORTED YOUNG AS SAYING THAT HE DID NOT FEEL HE BETRAYED AFRICANS BY NOT JOINING IN THE CONSENSUS AND THAT HE, REFERRING TO WESTERN INITIATIVES WITH REGARD TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, DEALS 'WITH REAL POWER, NOT WORD POWER.'  
LEONARD

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NEWS MEDIA COMMENTS, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 23-May-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977USUNN01616  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770184-0027  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** USUN NEW YORK  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770526/aaaaawnk.tel  
**Line Count:** 215  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 4bd9568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2399961  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CHANGED> mcm 20041005  
**Subject:** MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, OVIP, SOPN, PDEV, US, XJ, (YOUNG, ANDREW)  
**To:** KHARTOUM  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/4bd9568b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009